SPEECH OF MR. SHEPARD.

OF PASQUOTANK, Delivered in the Senate of North Carolina, November 27, upon the ollowing Resolutions submitted by himself :

1. Resoled, That the Constitution of the United States was a comromise of conflicting interests, ordained and by the people of the several States, "in order to torm a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic anquility, provide for the common defence, promptehe general welfure, and secure the blessings of liber," to all the parties, and that whenever its s are so perverted or enlarged, that it fails to ese objects to the weakest member of the confederas, it ceases to be the Constitution agreed to, and become the creature of the whim and caprice of a domjority, alien in interest to the oppressed, the inant ngerous and intolerant of all Governments.

solved, That although we love the union of the State and view its destruction as a great calamity, we neveneless regard the right to secede from it as a right detence and protection, which the people of Carolina have never surrenderd, and never can der, with due regard to their own safety and weland that whenever a majority of the people of Carolina shall solemnly resolve that they cannot remain in the Union, it is not only their right, but it their duty to secede, and to panish such of her citize as refuse submission to her sovereign will.

Resolved, That whilst we claim the right of seces-, as a right reserved to the people, and not surrend by the Constitution, we believe it to be an exne remedy and one that should not be resorted to, unall means to preserve the Union and to protect the pperty and insure the welfare of the people, have

. Resolved, That the fugitive slave bill lately passed Congress is in conformity with the provisions of the onstitution, and that its repeal, or any alteration tendng to impede an owner of a slave from retaking his property, will be regarded as undoubted and sufficient evihence, that a majority of Congress are unrestrained by the express provisions of the Constitution, and that a time has arrived, when it becomes the duty of the people of North Carolina to decide whether they will submit to an unlimited Government, or will resist its en-

eroachments boldly and effectively 5. Resolved, That property in slaves being recognized both by the Constitutions of North Carolina and of the United States, it is as much the duty of the General Government to protect and defend slave property, as it is its duty to protect and defend any other species of property, and that any action of the General Government preventing the emigration of slave property to any Territory of the Union, is an assult upon such property tending ultimately to destroy it, by the slow but sure process of circumscribing it, and preventing its removal to countries better adapted to its profitable occupation,

6. Resolved, That the injustice done to the slave-holding States, by the late admission of Cailfornia into the Union, would never have occurred, had the South been united: We therefore invite the co-operation of the slaveholding States in demanding from the General Government an adequate protection for such slave property as may emigrate to any territory belonging to the United States : or should it be deemed more advisable, an equal division of such territory between the slave-holding and the non-slave-holding States of the Union.

7. Resolved, That the Governor be requested to transmit a copy of these resolutions to the Governors of the other States of the Union, with a request that they be laid before their several Legislatures.

The subject of domestic Slavery as it exists among us, is forcing itself upon the public attention, and the sic difficulties more troublesome to solve than any ev- prosperity. er before presented for the consideration of man. Instead of being the foot-ball of party or a theme for the ravings of fanaticism, it appeals to the calm consideration of every one who has any regard for the welfare or safety of either the white or the black race. It demands attention from the statesman as intimately affecting the prosperity and safety of the whole community, and from the moralist and philanthropist, as it affects the morals and happiness of a large class of human beings.

The time has arrived when it is not only the duty of every thinking man to examine the subject in all its bearings, but late political events are hurrying to a solution this the most embarassing problem which has ever been presented to the consideration of a free

It is consummate folly for any Southern man to suppose he can avoid any of the embarrassments connected with this subject, should unwise or hasty legislation seriously affect the value of the property or the security of the owner.

The destruction of this property in our midst, will involve in one mass of ruin and insolvency both States and Communities-both those who own slaves and those who own only lands-both those who live by their own, labor and those who live by the labor of others. These propositions are so apparent that I presume no man who has reflected in the most superficial manner upon the condition of the Southern States, as it is affected by slavery, can, for a moment, doubt their truth.

Believing myself these propositions to be self-evident, I have been astonished at the supineness and indifference manifested by the mass of the people of North Carolina, during the agitation which has existed in Congress and other portions of the Union, apon this subject.

One would suppose that our people were either the most apathetic or philosphic race on earth-that they equalled the Turk in fatalism, or else they supposed themselves exempted by some special visitation of Providence from those "ills which flesh is heir to." I know it is peculiarly difficult to operate on the public mind of a population entirely agricultural, living retired upon remote and isolated plantations. Such a population is naturally confiding, honest themselves they do not suspect dishonesty in others; attending to their own business and not disposed to interfere with the business of their neighbors, they suppose all the world similarly occupied. They are not aware, and will not beleive that large numbers of individuals at the North, of talent and education, live by exciting the popular mind, and that Southern slavery has been seized upon by these disturbers of the peace and quiet of the Country, as affording every facility for their nefarious purposes. Another great reason why the their happiness and welfare, has been the extraordinary conduct of the two leading party papers in Washington City, the Union and Intelligencer. These two papers, which were never known before to agree upon any subject whatever, united in deceiving the Southern people as regards the scope, object and importance of the free soil and abolition movements at the North. What was their object, it is unnecessary now to enquire, nor would it be a difficult matter to ascertain, if we would only remember who it was that voted the numerous lucrative printing jobs which enrich so many men about the purlieus of the Capitol.

Such has been the success of these papers com-bining to sing one tune, that hundreds in North Carolina honestly believe that the vast majority of the Northern people are determined to enforce the Constitutional provisions as regards slavery; that they have no disposition to deny to the Southern people their equal rights under the Constitution, and that the abolitionists are a mere fraction of the community contemptible for their numbers, and need only to be let alone in order to sink into insignificance. All attempts at the South to resist the combinations of the abolitionists by similar combinations were denounced as treasonable; and whilst the influence and spirit of abolition were shaping and controlling every election at the North, from that of President down to the lowest State or Federal officer, Southern people were denounced as disloyal to the Union because they met together in convention to ascertain the dangers to which they were exposed, and to consult about the most effectual mode to resist them.

This systematic deception was practised not only upon the people of North Carolina, but the North were kept in profound ignorance of the opinions of the pepole of this State so far as their opinions could be gathered from the acts of their Legislature. At the session of our Legislature two years ago, a series of resolutions was passed, upon the subject of slavery, with singular unanimity. These resolutions were moderate in their character and spoke the sentiments of both the great parties which divide the State. Attached to these resolutions in their final passage through the Legislature was an extract from Washington's address, laudatory of the Union of the States: this extract alone was seized upon by a Washington journal and trumpeted throughout the North as the sole and exclusive opinion of North Carolina upon a subject more vital to her interest than any which could possi-

I allude to these facts at this time, not from any importance they now have, but solely as a part of the secret history of a great event, and as illustrative of the truth exemplified in the history of nations, that the most important results are sometimes brought about by the most insignificant causes.

Humiliating as these facts are to every North Carolinian jealous of the character of his State, they are nevertheless true, and the people would profit from them if hereafter in all matters deeply affecting their own interests, they would seek the truth from more reliable sources, than newspapers in Washington City dependent for existence upon official patronage.

At the last session of our Legislature, two years ago, more than twelve months before Congress passed what is called the compromise upon the subject of slavery a series of resolutions passed upon the same subject, expressing what was thought to be nearly the unanimous opinion of the people of North Carolina. will now read two of these resolutions for the reflection of the Senate. The fourth resolution is in tiese words:

Resolved, That the enactment of any law by Congress which shall abolish slavery or the slave trade in the District of Columbia, or shall directly or indirectly deprive the citizens of the States of this right of emigrating with their slave property into any of the Territories of the United States, and of exercising ownership over the same, while in the said Territories, will be an act not only of gross injustice and wrong, but the exercise of power contrary to the true meaning and spirit of the Constitution, and never contemplated by the framers

This resolution passed the Senate with but two dissenting voices, and the House with but ten. The fifth resolution is in these words:

Resolved. That while we do not intend hereby to be understood as conceding that Congress has the power under the Constitution, to enacta law prohibiting slavery in any portion of the Territories of the United States, vet for the sake of preserving the peace and promoting the perpetuity of the Union, we are willing that the basis of the Missouri Compromise should be adopted in reference to the recently acquired territories of New Mexico and California, by extending the line then agreed upon to the Pacific Ocean.

This resolution passed the Senate with but two dissenting voices, the House with six-nearly an

unanimous vote of both political parties. I would ask the Senate to remember that these resoutions were passed before the coming in of General Taylor's administration, before any action had been taken either with California or New Mexico to make their accomplishment impossible; they were I may say the unanimous opinion of the two parties in the State at that time-the wish of North Carolina, a State deeply interested in the question of slavery, a State which has been always conservative in her character, and which gave a large majority for the elevation of General Taylor to the Presidency.

These resolutions were laid before the Congress of the United States, but attracted no attention, and produced no results, and simply now serve as a record that the Legislature of that day did all in its power for the safety and perpetuity of the Republic in an important crisis. In governments constituted like ours based upon public opinion, Legislative bodies can simply point the way: for all other purposes their acts are inefficient, unless sustained by the active co-operation of the people.

The cry of disunion raised in Washington City last winter and spring, was an adroit movement calculated to alarm the public mind and divert it from a sober and attentive consideration of the action of the Federal Government. And, sir, the planners of this movement have succeeded marvellously; they have persuaded the people to believe, that the late comproconsideration of it as it affects the permanent prosperity | mise, passed in entire contempt and disregard of the of the country can no longer be avoided. It is a sub- resolutions of our Legislature, has saved the Union, ject of vast importance, and encompassed with intrin- and launched it forward in a long career of honor and

I have never, Mr. Speaker, at any time believed there was danger of a violent dismemberment of this confederacy. My reading of history teaches me that there is but one instance on record, of a people fighting for a great principle. I allude to the revolution of '76, an era when land jobbers, speculators in government contracts or in the public funds, had but little voice in the movements of the people. That age of virtuous sentiment is gone, and has been succeeded by one of cold pretence.

The Southern people now are too comfortable and prosperous to resist the action of the Federal Government with any other weapon than resolutions, and mass meetings, which have ceased to attract any attention. When the action of the Federal Government begins to bear openly upon their prosperity, when it is visible to the dullest capacity, they may then rise in their might, but it will be like the rising of Sampson after he had been shorn of his strength in his hours of dalliance; they may pull down the temple of liberty, but they will not be able to preserve it, or strengthen it.

It has now become a matter of history that had North Carolina, together with the other Southern States, zealously co-operated in urging the principles laid down in these resolutions, the Missouri Compromise line would have been extended to the Pacific, and opened that vast region to slave emigration for all time to come. I contend moreover that this is the only way to settle this great question, without bringing incalculable evils upon the country, evils of untold magnitude which no legislation can remedy.

It is a little remarkable that throughout the long discussion on this subject, no Northern man or the most liberal principles seemed to think that the institution of slavery was a great industrial interest, which the Federal Government had no right to destroy directly or indirectly. The slave property of the South is worth upon a moderate estimate 1000 millions of dollars; it is the source of two thirds the wealth of the whole Union, and yet the Federal Government not only denies all obligation to protect it from its numerous enemies, but most grudgingly and reluctantly carried out in the fugitive slave bill an express clause of the Constitution. I do not believe there is a government on earth-no, not the autocrat of all the Russias, which would treat so large and important a portion of its subjects with such harsh and cruel

It is manifestly now the settled determination of the majority of Congress to permit no more slave territory to be added to the Union-to restrict slavery within its present boundaries. Such sentiments have been announced upon the floor of the Senate by the two leading minds of the country, Messrs. Clay and Webster, one a Southern, the other a Northern people of North Carolina have manifested so little | man. Upon this principle the late compromise was interest in this subject of such vital importance to passed, and as such it has been acquiesced in by the people of North Carolina. It becomes us now to examine our situation, and see what is to be our future condition under the operation of this law.

It is worse than idle for any man to distract his mind with discussion whether slavery is an evil or a blessing. We find it an institution existing amongst us, forming the substratum of our social system. which no legislation can remove, and with which all tampering produces more evil than good. In my judgment Providence has permitted the barbarous African to be brought here for wise and beneficent purposes. Guided by the science and energy of the white man, the power of endurance of the negro race has been the sole and only means; of reducing vast regions of malarious country into cultivation, which would otherwise forever have remained a wilderness; and, sir, unless mistaken legislation interferes, when the mission of the race is fulfilled here, the same inscrutable wisdom may carry it to other regions simi-

arly situated, to subdue the earth and to replenish it. Why then should the black race be confined within their present limits? Why not throw as wide as possible the doors of emigration that they may gradutry, seek climates better adapted to their habits; and constitutions, than North Carolina, Virginia and Maryland? This would have been the part of wisdom. but the abolitionists objected, and the General Government yielded to their objections. The American Government in its suicidal liberality invites to California the inmates of the poor houses and work-shops of Europe-the semi-barbarous inhabitants of China, and the Sandwich Islands; in fact the escaped convict from Australia is a welcome visitor; there is a cordial welcome to all the world to dig gold upon the pubic land, except to the sober and patient laborer of

the South ; he alone is excluded. There is one view of the slave question, to which wish to call the attention of this Senate, and if possible, through them, of the people of North Carolina. I will suppose what few persons believe, that the North is satisfied with the late adjustment or compromise of the slave question; that having excluded the slave holder from all the benefits of California and New Mexico, and arrested the slave trade in the District of Columbia, she is contented with her triumph and will cease all further aggressions on the South. It is now a settled principle that slavery must be restricted within its present limits; the whole power of the Federal Government is hereafter to be brought to bear against any expansion of

this institution. Let us examine to what condition this principle will bring the South, and particularly North Carolina-the Union loving North Carolina. We are told

by the first census taken in the United States after | upon any of her citizens. This would be reducing the adoption of the constitution, viz. 1790, that there our Government to the old Confederacy and has very was then in the whole Union 697,897 slaves; by properly been pronounced by the whole country an the census of 1840, this number had increased to 2,-488,355, showing that the law of increase for the olina at the time, and told some of the actors in it, black population in fifty years was more than three that they would do more injury by it to the cause of times and a half; in the same proportion in 1890before the close of the present century, which is now half gone, the slave population within the Union will amount to within a fraction of nine millions. Now, sir, I would ask those dear lovers of the Union who are rejoicing over the passage of the compromise bill, if they believe this Union can denying to the States all authority whatever; in fact making them nothing more than mere corporations to be dissolved, or rearranged, at any time to suit the even supposing this vast population should continue to be quiet and orderly, it is well wor thy an enquiry, what in all human probability will be the pecuniary condition of the owners of these slaves? We know that the slave cultivation is an exhausting and impoverishing one to the soil. This must alis an admirable pioneer to clear and ditch new lands, in his celebrated reply to Mr. Hayne in 1830, and I but even now with few exceptions, unless upon the best cotton, rice, and sugar plantations, his labor is Mr. Webster of any leaning towards nullification. not remunerative. What then must it be, when the number is enormously increased, and that increase olutions, of 1798, behind which Mr. Havne endeavtime is rapidly approaching, and the present genera- "That resolution declares that in case of the dangerous tion will not pass away before the fact will be appa- exercise of powers not granted by the general government, rent, that slave property will have no transferrable the States may interpose to arrest the progress of the evil.

ent boundaries. The slave will be practically free; deny this. Such resistance is not only acknowledghis owner, for fear of starvation, will abandon ed to be just in America, but in England also. Blackhim; but, sir, the end will not be yet. The North, stone admits as much in the theory, and practice too. by a combination of agrarianism and infidelity, may of the English constitution. We, sir, who oppose ruin the South, but in doing so, she will rear into ter- the Carolina doctrines, do not deny, that the people rible importance, in the very heart of the republic, mil- may, if they choose, throw off any Government when with unexpected and unvalued freedom, and prepared ter in its stead. We all know that civil institutions

estimate is doubtless below what it will be, for the tend that there are securities for the public liberty. at the rate of nearly three-fold in thirty years.

and this will be apparent if we would attentively who formed and adopted the constitution of the Uniconsider our situation. North Carolina has but little ted States. territory peculiarly adopted to the profitable occupation of slave labor. Much of her soil is already worn tution of the United States says, "the powers not down by constant cultivation and needs the resusci- delegated to the United States nor prohibited by it to tation of rest and economical and skillful husbandry, the States, are reserved to the States respectively or perabundant population of slaves.

contain more than 860,000 slaves, nearly all of them means nothing, and it was folly and surplusage to worn out and impoverished soil. The first effect of much respect for the wisdom of those who framed this great increase of slaves, will be a temporary rise that instrument to entertain any such suspicion. They in the value of land and a depression in the value of thought, no doubt, with Charles Fox, who once said labor. The poor non-slaveholder will be forced to emi-the right to dethrone a British sovereign for the be grate; the owner of slaves will be compelled to pur- efit of the people, certainly existed, but should be til the State becomes one vast plantation, barely pro- over, Mr. Speaker, that many of the States, particutiest manner, her teeming black population.

from history or example, we have passing before our eyes, an exact prototype of our future condition in and depressing that of Ireland, has filled Ireland with a superabundant population of ignorant and depraved agricultural labourers reduced to the lowest pittance upon which human life can be sustained. And wheninfest the land. The misery and wretchedness of land, who may yet find that though power may trample down truth and justice, it cannot infuse life into to happy and abundant America. The American Government, on the contrary, draws a cordon around the slave and his owner, and tells him within those bounds he must remain, live, starve and die.

Had the justice and fairness of the resolutions offblack population. Thousands of negro laborers who are now earning but a scanty remuneration to their owners, would have been transferred to California, and North Carolina might have seen a prospect, at some period not very remote, of relieving herself partially of this population, without disturbing the rights of property, and at the same time being enriched by opinion is more erroneous than that the climate and country and business, and perhaps it is the only tions; species of labor which will develop the great riches f California. The history of the coal mining in England proves, moreover, that the white laborer so employed is reduced to a more abject state of misery and suffering, than is known in any portion of the Southern Country.

Should the policy indicated in the late adjustment the wall which is to separate the States of this Union kindred and rival republics, but into a white and black

So fully am I convinced, Mr. Speaker, that such is to be the issue of this policy, that I am almost induced to be superstitious and to believe from the array of great and learned men by whom this adjustment was brought about, that some special interposition of the melancholy fate which awaits her. When however I refer to our census tables and see that in all a moment in the life of a nation-North Carolina will by the inexorable decree of the Federal Government o her poor and exhausted soil, I am reminded by the fate of Ireland that tyranny is peculiar to no clime,

and to no form of Government. deepened, and the catastrophe hastened, should the tutional or oppressive acts of the General Government. States South of us which have protested most loudly A right never to be resorted to, except in cases of exagainst the policy of the General Govenment openly treme oppression, and one which it is probable would not merely

"A tale told by an idiot, Full of sound and fory,

Signifying nothing." the State, grossly deficient in duty to the Union if she "Therefore I should hold myself at liberty, yea bound of dignified and strenuous remonstrance. Let us stinate usurpation, which constitutes a known and un-

presume no gentleman here will deny. tunately contended for twenty years ago, it was this : in the breast of man. she asserted that whilst a member of the Union, she In commenting on this speech, Mr. Speaker, I beg had a constitutional right in her sovereign capacity to leave to state distinctly that I do so with perfect res-

absurdity. I regretted this movement of South Carthe rights of the States, than all the arguments of the federal party since the adoption of the constitution. And such has been the case. It has not only deprived South Carolina of that weight her counsels are fairly entitled to, from the ability of her statesmen, but many persons are running into the other extreme, and pleasure of the General Government. It is the part of wisdom in us of the South, to let by-gones be bygones; let us examine what are our rights as separate communities and manfully assert them.

To satisfy these timid gentlemen that this second resolution contains nothing of the odious South Carways necessarily be more or less the case: the slave olina doctrine, I will read what Daniel Webster said hope that will satisfy them, as they cannot suspect

Mr. Webster, in commenting on the Virginia resrestricted to worn and impoverished soils? The ored to shelter himself, used the following words: or commercial value; the owners of it will see be- But how interpose, and what does this declaration fore them hopeless and inextricable poverty; and purport? Does it mean no more than that there may their only safety will be in abandoning it to its fate. be extreme cases, in which the people, in any mode Thus will be realized one of the anticipations of of assembling, may resist usurpation and relieve themthe abolitionists, in walling in slavery within its pres- selves from a tyrannical Government? No one will lions of degraded and ignorant human beings, wild it becomes oppressive and intolerable, and erect a betfor any thing that revenge or ambition may propose. are established for the public benefit, and that when In this appalling state of the country North Caro- they cease to answer the ends of their existence they lina will be the severest sufferer. By the census of may be changed." Now, sir, I might stop here and 1840, she had within her borders 245,817 slaves. By close discussion on this resolution, with the words of the law of increase already mentioned, this number Mr. Webster just read, for, the resolution means will amount in 1890 to more than 860,000. This nothing more, and certainly no gentleman will concensus tables show that between 1790 and 1820, be- both in the theory and practice of the British constifore the great emigration took place from North Caro- tution, which the people of North Carolina have surling to the South West, our slave population increased rendered. If they have, they made an unfortunate exchange from a foreign king to a government con-I have said that North Carolina would be more trolled by abolition fanatics. I will, however, trouble seriously injured by this walling-in policy of the the Senate a little further on this second resolution. Federal Government, than any of the Southern States, in vindication of the intention and meaning of those

The tenth article of the amendments of the constiwhich can never take place when burdened by a su- to the people." Why reserve these powers if it was not intended or expected the people or States should In 40 years from this time, unless the law of pop- protect themselves from aggression? If they have ulation is changed in our case. North Carolina will no right to protect themselves effectively, the article agricultural laborers drawing a scanty support from a insert it in the constitution. I have, however, too chase land to employ and feed his surplus labour un- talked about as little as possible. We know, moreducing enough to sustain, in the cheapest and scan- larly Virginia, New York and Massachusetts in adopting the constitution of the United States, expressed If it were possible for nations to learn any thing in their acts of ratification the same sentiment.

Massachusetts in her act of ratification used these explicit words, "That it be explicitly declared that the present situation of Ireland. The selfish legis- all powers not expressly delegated by the aforesaid lation of England, by fostering her own industry, constitution are reserved to the several States, to be by them exercised."

That there may be no doubt of this second resolution expressing the true theory of our form of Government, I will introduce another authority. It will ever this pittance fails, riot, starvation, and misery be recollected by the Senate that in 1830 there arose in the Senate of the United States a debate on nulli-Ireland hang like a mill stone upon the crest of Eng- fication, called by way of preeminence the great debate, when the whole of this subject was thoroughly ole down truth and justice, it cannot infuse life into investigated. Among the numerous able speeches a palsied and withered limb. Amidst all her tyranny, delivered on that occasion was one by Edward Livhowever, England permits the starving Irish to fly ingston, which was pronounced by the Washington public preeminently able as a constitutional argument. I recollect hearing Mr. John Q. Adams, whom no one will suspect of an undue leaning towards State rights, remark, that Mr. Livingston had stated the true theory of the Government. Mr. Livingston ered by the Legislature of North Carolina been met was afterwards Gen. Jackson's Secretary of State, by a corresponding feeling in Congress, the Missouri and is supposed to have been the principal composer line would have been extended to the Pacific Ocean, of the celebrated proclamation of Gen. Jackson which and a large field opened for the emigration of our gave the finishing blow to nullification. Mr. Livingston said "this Government is partly popular acting directly on the citizens of the several States; partly federative depending for its existence and action on the existence and action of the several States. That among the attributes of sovereignty retained by the States is that of watching over the operations of the General Government and protecting its citizens against the transfer. For sir, I take it for granted, that no their unconstitutional abuse; and this can be legally done. First, in the case of an act in the opinion of mining business of California is not adapted to slave the State palpably unconstitutional, but affirmed in labor: it is, of all labor, the one best adapted to that the Supreme Court in the legal exercise of its func-

> "By remonstrating against it to Congress. "By an address to the people in their elective functions, to change or instruct their representatives. "By a similar address to the other States, &c.

" By proposing amendments to the constitution, &c. " And finally, if the act be intolerably oppressive, and they find that the General Government persevere be adhered to by the Government, the first stone of in enforcing it, by resort to the natural right which every people have to resist extreme oppression. Sewill have been laid, and disunion will not be into condly, if the act be one of those few which in its operation cannot be submitted to the Supreme Court, and be one that will, in the opinion of the State, justify the risk of a withdrawal from the Union, that this last extreme.remedy may at once be resurted to.

"That the theory of the Federal Government being the result of the general will of the people of the United States in their aggregate capacity, and found-Providence is to interfere and save my country from ed in no degree on compact between the States, would tend to the most disastrous practical results, and that it would place three fourths of the States at the merhuman probablity in the short space of 40 years—but cy of one fourth, and lead inevitably to a consolidated Government, and finally to monarchy if the contain nearly one million of negroes chained down doctrine were generally admitted; and if partially so, and opposed, to civil dissension." Here, sir, we see laid down in a few comprehensive

words the true theory of our form of Government; the States have reserved to themselves the right and Gloomy as this picture is, its horrors may yet be the duty to protect their citizens against all unconstiresist it, and convince the world that their clamor was never be called into existence if it were openly avowed, and distinctly understood, as a right that never could and never would be surrendered. Let us examine for a moment the consequence of a

denial of this right. Our Senator, Mr. Badger, says From all these reasons, believing this Legislature in his speech against the right of secession delivered would be grossly deficient in duty to the people of in the Senate of the United States, August 2d, 1850, remained calm and supine in the present condition by every consideration of duty to myself and country. of the country, I offer the resolutions on your table. by that integrity which binds me to maintain and ful-Let us pass them, and we may arrest the madness fil the oath I have taken to consider for myself under and folly of the North and persuade our Southern any supposed circumstances, whether a case existed brethren to remain longer with us and try the virtue of unmitigated oppression or of dangerous and obconvince the North that the word Union has not such derstood exception from the duty of submission to a magic influence over us that it has "steeped our Government and justifies the oppressed in falling senses in forgetfulness" and made us neglect what back upon the natural rights of resistance and selfwe owe to our State, ourselves and our posterity.

The first resolution states an historical fact in relation to the formation of our Government which I ple of this State in their organized society as a State, the right to protect themselves, but in fact dissolves The second resolution asserts the only practicable that Society, reduces it to a state of nature where remedy which is left us when all other modes of re- every individual, like the roving savage, depends dress have failed; and I hope when this resolution is upon his own right arm for protection. This is the attentively considered, it will be found equally as un-objectionable as the first. We have among us, Mr. that a denial that our Government is the result of Speaker, many exceedingly conscientious men who compact, "leads inevitably to a consolidated Govprofess great desire to see justice done to the South, ernment, and finally to monarchy, if the doctrine were but who when any thing practical is offered them, generally admitted, and if partially so, and opposed, immediately become alarmed and cry out "nullifica- to civil dissensions." Moreover what possible chance tion-give us none of your South Carolina doctrines." could an isolated citizen have to protect himself or Now, Sir, I assure these gentlemen that this resolu-tion has not a particle of what they call South Caro-Government? Even with the aid of the State organilina doctrine; but is the very reverse of it. If I have zation, the contest would be a very unequal one, and been able to understand what South Carolina unfor- requiring all of patriotism, and devotion, that dwells

nullify an act of Congress, or in other words to de- pect for the Hon. Senator, although I differ entirely cide for herself whether such act should be operative with him in reading the constitution; still, sir, I pre-

fer being represented by an avowed consolidationist, rather than by one of your States-right-men, afraid to express his real opinions. I can hope for something from the generosity and candor of the one, I can expect nothing from the timidity of the other, for in private, as in public affairs, there is no counsellor so dangerous as fear.

I acknowledge no more a power of disposing of the hope I shall endeavor to fulfil. I acknowledge I say, no more authority in the State of North Carolina to dispose of that obligation, than in the State of Virginia, or the State of New Hampshire to do it." This opinion involves the whole question. If the majority of the people of North Carolina have no rightful authority through their Legislature or otherwise, to command the obedience of all her citizens, the Honorable Senator is right, and this second resolution ought to be rejected. In my humble judgment, Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Senator has fallen into an error from a misapprehension of the doctrine of allegiance, and the extent of his duties to the General Government. He owes no other allegiance to the United States than that portion of the general allegiance due his native State, which she has transferr- per session. ed to a foreign Government; and, sir, to see and understand the extent of the transfer, the deed of assignment, viz: the constitution of the United States, is the only evidence. If the contract is violated, or destroyed, the parties relapse back to their original position, and inherent rights. North Carolina adopted the constitution of the United States in heraggregate capacity of one community, and whatever rights she reserved in that instrument, she reserved in the same aggregate capacity; nor did she by so doing, relinquish any further her authority over her citizens. alone; that secondary allegiance which she has transferred, is due the United States.

sustained by Mr. Madison in his argument in the case scriber, known to be one of the most healthy locations of Ramsay vs. Smith in the House of Representatives in the State, and equidistant from Louisburg and the in 1789-a contested election. Mr. Madison then said, it was an established maxim, that birth was a criterion of allegiance. There was a distinction between that primary allegiance we owe that particular society of which we are members, and the secondary allegiance we owe to the sovereign established by that society. What was the situation of the people of America when the dissolution of their allegiance took place by the declaration of their independence? I conceive that every person who owed this primary allegiance to the particular community in which he was born, retained his right of birth, as a member of a new community; that he was consequently absolved from the secondary allegiance he owed to the British Sovereign. If he were not a minor, he became bound by his own act as a member of the society who separated with him from a submission to a foreign Country. When that society separated from Great Britain he was bound by that act, and his allegiance transferred to that society, or to the sovereign which that society should set up; because it was through his membership of that society of South Carolina that he owed allegiance to Great Britain."

Mr. Speaker, should the Senate reject this second resolution, it will be virtually admitting that the State of North Carolina, as an organized political community, has no right to command the allegiance of the have every facility to attend divine worship, as there is their property against any aggression of the Federal of the Academy. Government. If such are the opinions of a majority The Trustees have secured the services of Mr. Jesse of the people of the State, it is proper that it should Smith, a gentleman of considerable experience as a be known, that such of her citizens as desire a better protection for their property may seek other communities which may not have such humble notions in the neighborhood, (all of them having children of of their duties and responsibilities. This extreme their own to educate) and have therefore put tuition at remedy in my judgment need never be resorted to. the following very low rates: If the North were satisfied we were in earnest, and Spelling, Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic, meant what this resolution says, she would not haz- English Grammar and Geography, - - - 7 50 ard the vast benefits she derives from the Union, for The higher Branches of English, - - - 10 00 all the negroes in Africa. This Union may last The Languages, a few years longer, but unless the rights and equality of the States are preserved in all their integrity, for \$5 per mouth. Any information with regard to the ts termination is not very remote. The people of the South will never consent that an all powerful and River, P. O., Granville co., N. C. consolidated Government shall shape their destiny for

The fifth resolution speaks of the character and necessities of slave property. In addition, Mr. Speaker, to what I have already said on this subject. would remark that expansion or emigration is a necessary want of slavery; without it, the institution cannot exist, but must come to an end, not very remote, entailing in its destruction the unavoidable ruin of the white population. You are now launching forward in the career of internal improvement; greatest advantages with the least expense, and to give you are about issuing State bonds to the amount of \$2,000,000 payable in thirty years. I do not aspire branches of an accomplished Female Education to the character of a prophet, but if the history of the past is any evidence of the future, I will venture a prediction which some of the younger members of this Senate may live to see verified: About the time these bonds become due, the poorest people in North Carolina will be her largest slave holders, if this walling-in policy of the Federal Government is carried out in all its vigour. More than half your revenue is derived from slave labor, and whilst you are increasing the burdens on that labor, you are consenting to a policy which will ultimately render it value-

There are some other matters, Mr. Speaker, which I would like to touch on, but I will conclude by urging the Senate to pass these or similar resolutions, and you may convince congress and your representatives that you "know your rights and knowing dare maintain them;" that you claim and will have from your citizens a greater allegiance than they owe to Virginia, or New Hampshire, and that the cause of Boston governed by abolitionists, is not the cause of the Union. Such sentiments may elicit a puff from a Boston Journal, but will never procure justice to the people of North Carolina.

In our confederacy, the words of the poet are emhatically the words of wisdom: to "thine ownself e true, thou cans't not then be false to any one." Let North Carolina be true to her own interest, and she cannot then be false to the Union.

READY MADE CLOTHING. At Wholesale and Retail.

E have just received from one of the largest and best established Houses in the United States, one of the largest and best assorted Stocks ever brought to this City, a Stock that would favorably compare with the Custom Work of any Establishment in the Union, which we are instructed to sell at unprecedented low prices, and to which we invite the attention of Country Merchants, citizens of Raleigh, the surrounding Country, and Members of the next General Assembly, and ask them to call and examine our Stock before purchasing elsewhere, as we are determined to sell at prices that will defy competition.

with a broken assortment, as we shall continue to have arge additions throughout the Season. In addition to the above, we have a full assortment of fine Shirts, Jenny Lind and other patterns, together with Silk, Merino, Lambs wool Shirts and Drawers.

Country Merchants need have no fears of finding us

All of which we will sell as low as they can be purchased of any Establishment in New York or any oth A. B. STITH & CO. Raleigh, Nov. 6, 1850. 840-w tf.

FEMALE SCHOOL. HILLSBOROUGH, N. C.

THE winter session of Mr. & Mrs. Burwell's School

for young Ladies will begin on Thursday, 9th of January: Board and Tuition. - - -67 50 Music on Piano or Guitar, - - -20 00 Use of Instrument for practice, - -5 00 Drawing, - - - - -10 00 10 00 Latin, - - - - - - -5 00 Washing per session, - - -5 00 When two or more pupils come from the same family he charge for washing will be \$2 50 for each. As the number of pupils is limited, persons desirous of securing places must make early application. For circulars conaining all necessary information, address Rev. R. Burwell, Hillsborough N. C. Dec. 11, 1850. 12-w4t. The Raleigh Register, Wilmington Chronicle, Fayetteville Observer, and Newbernian, will insert once a

week for four weeks. 2000 lbs. Sperm and Tailow Candles, Best Brands, just received by R. TUCKER & SON. AMP OIL, Burning Fluid, and Phosgene Gas; a taining two and a half Acres, moderately improved. It is the handsomest site on the Hill, and well was

Raleigh, Nov. 27, 1850.

P. F. PESCUD.

South Lowell Male Academy, ORANGE COUNTY, N. C.

THE present session of this Institution will close on the 20th of December; and the next session will commence on Thursday, January 2nd. Students are carnestly requested to be present at the commencement

The Honorable Senator further says in his speech The School continues under the superintendance of obligations I have undertaken to discharge to that the Rev. James A. Dean, M. A., as Principal, and Mr. Country and that Government (meaning the General B. F. Larabee, B. A. as Associate. The Academy build. Government and the United States.) and which I ing is new, and is so constructed as to accommodate three or even four Teachers. It is hoped that the friends of the institution will rally around it, and furnish a sufficient number of students to test its capability.

Three objects will constantly be kept in view: 1st. To promote thorough scholarship. 2nd. To secure the students from the contamination of vice, and to in. still into their minds moral and religious principles. 3d.

To cultivate a taste for general knowledge. No pain will be spared to obtain all these ends. South Lowell Academy is a "Preparatory School" of

Randolph Macon College; but the course of instruction is such as to prepare for any College in the country; and it is equally adapted to such as do not intend to pursue a Collegiate course. Expenses as heretofore, viz: Tuition \$10 00-\$12.

50, and \$15 00. Board in the best families, \$25 00 South Lowell is in Orange county. North Carolina 38 miles west of Henderson, and about the same dis-

dance North-west of Raleigh. D. C. PARRISH, Sec. Ex. Com. November 28, 1850.

PLEASANT GROVE ACADEMY FRANKLIN COUNTY, N. C.

THE Exercises of this Institution will commence on Monday the 6th of January next, under the charge Primary allegiance is due from all her citizens to her of Mr. Edwin L. Barrett, a gentleman eminently qualified to instruct in all the branches taught in preparatory Schools. The Academy will be neat and comfortable This view of the doctrine of allegiance is fully situated about 200 yards from the residence of the sub-Shocco Springs.

Board can be had with the subscriber, at \$6,50 per month, and also in the families of Mr. Joseph J. Jones, Mr. Thomas A. Person, Mrs. Elizabeth Branch, and others, all convenient to the Academy, at the above rates, Parents and guardians may rest assured, that every attention will be paid, both to the morals and literary pursuits of the students; and owing to the healthings of the situation, the purity of the water, and the morality of the neighborhood, the public and particularly those

living in the lower country, would do well to give this institution a trial. TUITION PER SESSION.

For the Languages, and higher English branches, \$15 Lower English branches, - . . Address the Subscriber, Louisburg, N. C.

WM. J. BRANCH. December 1st. 1850. Register and Spirit of the Age copy 4 times, weekly,

TAR RIVER ACADEMY. GRANVILLE COUNTY, N. C.

THIS School will be opened for the reception of pupils on the first Monday in February, 1851. This Academy is located 9 miles West of Oxford, in a neighborhood proverbially healthy, and the Pupils will citizens of the State, and consequently cannot protect both a Baptist and Presbyterian Church within a mile

Good board can be had in highly respectable families School may be had by addressing Lewis P. Allen, Tar

FEMALE INSTITUTE.

WARRENTON, N. C. THE Twentieth Semi-annual Session of this Institution will commence on the 1st Monday in Jan. 1851. The location is pleasant, proverbially healthful, retired. et easy of access at all seasons of the year. This institution is so arranged and conducted as to combine the competent and efficient instruction in all of the various

The Board and Tuition in all the branches requisite for a Diploma and Gold Medal will not exceed \$124 00 per annum. The Ornamental branches, embracing Instrumental

Music, Wax Fruit and Flowers, Ancient and Modern Languages, Drawing and Painting in Oil and Water Colors, at the usual prices.

Vocal Music, Needle and Fancy work, gratis. The Libraries of the Principals are accessible to ad-

Lectures upon Literary and Scientific subjects, with appropiate experiments will be delivered during the Ses-REV. N. L. GRAVES,

J. WILCOX, L. C. GRAVES, Associate Principals. November 30, 1850.

SEDGEWICK FEMALE SEMINARY.

RALEIGH, N. C. THE Spring term of this Institution will open on

Tuesday the first day of January, 1851. Terms per Session of five months, (payable in advance.) Board and English Tuition. Music on Piano or Guitar. Use of Instrument, Latin and French, each, 10 00 Incidental Expenses, MRS. J. J. FINCH, Principal. Nov. 30, 1850.

THE SCHOOL AT HAMILTON, MARTIN CO. N. C.

R. J. H. HORNER resumes charge of the School at Hamilton, the 1st Monday in January next. In the Classical department the studies, as heretofore, will be strictly preparatory to the University.

Board in the Principal's family and Tuition per sesion of five months, - - - \$55 00 Hamilton is situated on an elevated plain near Roan-

red a healthy location. P. P. CLEMENTS, Sec. Board Trus. Hamilton, October, 1850.

oke river, twelve miles above Williamston, and is consid-

The Rev. Dr. Hocper's Family School In the Country, Near Littleton Irepot, WARREN COUNTY, N. C.

Teachers-REV. Wm. HOOPER, PROF. J. DEBER-SIERE HOOPER, AND THOMAS C. HOOPER. THE next session will commence on the first Thursday in January. It is requested that those who intend to send, will make early application. S-4t. Nov. 23, 1850.

Dan River Institute, YANCEYVILLE, N. C.

THE Spring session of this School will commence on Tuesday, the 7th of January. Board in the village and vicinity, from \$6 to \$7 per A. C. LINDSAY, nonth. Teacher of Languages,

B. GOULD. Teacher of Mathematics. December 11, 1850.

St. MARY'S SCHOOL. RALEIGH, N. C.

THE 18th Term of this School will commence on the fourth day of January 1851, and continue 'till the 7th of June. For a Circular containing full particulars, apply to the December 4th, 1850.

ALDERT SMEDES. Rector.

11-5t. Subscriber.

FOR \$450. LOT at Wake Forest College is for sale, con-

JOS. BRIDGES.

December 2nd, 1850.